

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 310105  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: EA/PHL:KWBLEAKELY

APPROVED BY: EA/PHL:BAFLECK

S/S- O TGMARTIN

-----041338 301646Z /40

R 301603Z DEC 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUEHCR/SECDEF WASHDC

JCS WASHDC

CINCPAC

CINCPACAF

CINCPACFLT

CINCPACREPPHIL

CG 13AIR FORCE

CIA

NSC

S E C R E T STATE 310105

STADIS////////////////////

EXDIS

MILITARY PLEASE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM MANILA DTD 29 DEC 1977 QTE

S E C R E T MANILA 20422

STADIS

FOR HOLBROOKE FROM AMBASSADOR

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 310105

TAGS: PINT, MILI, SHUM, RP

SUBJ: MARCOS' RELATIONSHIP TO THE PHILIPPINE MILITARY

REF: STATE 304795

1. SUMMARY: MARCOS IS CLEARLY IN CHARGE OF THE PHILIPPINE  
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. THERE IS SOME INTERPLAY OF PERSON-

ALITIES WITHIN THIS IMPORTANT POWER ELEMENT; HOWEVER, WE SEE NO INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP WITH A DISPOSITION TO CHALLENGE MARCOS ON MAJOR ISSUES, INCLUDING THE BASES. MARCOS CARES ABOUT MILITARY EQUIPMENT NEEDS BUT WE BELIEVE HE COULD ACCEPT CONSIDERABLY LESS HARDWARE THAN REQUESTED DECEMBER 22 AND NOT HAVE UNMANAGEABLE PROBLEMS IN HOLDING ALL SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY IN LINE. END SUMMARY

2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARCOS AND THE PHILIPPINE MILITARY (AFP) IS COMLEX. THERE IS NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT MARCOS IS THE MAN IN CHARGE. WE CURRENTLY SEE NO INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT WHICH SHOWS A DISPOSITION TO CHALLENGE HIM ON ANY MAJOR ISSUE, INCLUDING THE BASES. AFP PERSONNEL FROM CHIEF OF STAFF ESPINO DOWN FOLLOW HIS LEADERSHIP WITHOUT SERIOUS QUESTION. MARCOS IS CAREFUL TO MAINTAIN THE RESPECT OF THE MILITARY AND TO TEND TO THEIR PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL NEEDS. BUT MARCOS CALLS THE SHOTS.

3. THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE DOES RAISE SPECIAL PROBLEMS. MARCO' PRIMARY REQUIREMENT OF THE MILITARY IS TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL SECURITY, MORE PARTICULARLY TO PROTECT HIS REGIME. HE WANTS THE AFP TO DO THAT JOB WELL, WORRYING NOT SO MUCH THAT HUMAN RIGHTS RESTRAINTS HE IMPOSES WILL LEAD TO A MILITARY REACTION HE CAN'T HANDLE BUT RATHER THAT MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS IN MAINTAINING SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 310105

CONTROL OVER POTENTIAL THREATS TO THE REGIME MIGHT BE DIMINISHED.

4. ON MATTER RELATNG TO BASE TALKS, MARCOS RETAINS PARAMOUNT AUTHORITY. THIS HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED IN DISCUSSIONS TO DATE. HE IS SENSITIVE TO AFP CONCERNS ABOUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE HE WOULD HAVE NO SERIOUS TROUBLE IN HOLDING THE MILITARY IN LINE FOR SIGNIFICANTLY LESS THAN THE LIST PRESENTED TO US ON DECEMBER 22. AN ACCEPTABLE PACKAGE MIGHT NOT GO MUCH BEYOND A MISSILE SYSTEM, RADAR, NAVAL PATROL CRAFT, TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT AND SOME GROUND SUPPORT HARDWARE BACKED WITH ASSURANCES OF OUR BEST EFFORT IN HELPING WITH FUTURE REQUIREMENTS.

5. WE BELIEVE MARCOS' PRIMARY OBJECTIVES IN THE BASE TALKS FALL IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER:

A. SECURE A TANGIBLE EXPRESSION FROM THIS ADMINISTRATION OF CONTINUED INTEREST IN AND SUPPORT FOR THE PHILIPPINES, MORE PARTICULARLY HIS REGIME;

B. SECURE COMPENSATION FOR THE BASES EITHER THROUGH MILITARY HARDWARE OR MORE GENERAL ASSISTANCE ARRANGEMENTS.

C. OBTAIN MORE VISIBLE US RECOGNITION OF PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY, ESPECIALLY BY MAKING THE BASES APPEAR MORE PHILIPPINE.

WE SEE NO POWER ELEMENT IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT WITH A DISPOSITION OR CAPABILITY TO CHALLENGE MARCOS ON THESE OBJECTIVES.

6. ENRILE IS A SPECIAL CASE. HE HAS LONG BEEN CLOSE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 310105

TO MARCOS AND KNOWS WHERE THE SKELETONS ARE BURIED. HE IS ILOCANO, LOYAL AND TACTICALLY CLEVER IN A PINCH. HE IS COASTING AT NATIONAL DEFENSE, DOING ENOUGH TO STAY ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE BOSS AND TO MAINTAIN THE RESPECT OF THE UNIFORMED SERVICES. HSI PERSONAL OBJECTIVE SEEMS TO BE TO HOLD ON FOR PRESENT BENEFITS AND TO TRY TO BE THE MILITARY'S MAN WHENEVER MARCOS MIGHT PASS FROM THE SCENE. HIS ANTI-PATHY FOR MRS. MARCOS, THE PRIMARY OBSTACLE TO AN EVENTUAL STEP UP, IS EVIDENT. ENRILE COMES CLOSER THAN THE OTHERS TO HAVING THE PERSONALITY TO BUCK MARCOS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. BUT WE SEE LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT HE DOES. PERHAPS BECAUSE HE HAS ALREADY HAD SOME CLOSE SCRAPES DUE TO THIS PROBLEMS WITH MRS. MARCOS. HE IS CAUTIOUS AND HAS OCCASIONALLY CONFIDED THAT HE IS UNCERTAIN ABOUT HIS FUTURE. WE ARE LESS CONCERNED THAT ENRILE WILL SERIOUSLY PRESSURE MARCOS THAN BY THE FACT THAT HE DOES NOT DO HIS HOMEWORK, OFTEN TRYING TO COVER HIS DEFICIENCIES BY THROWING UP EXTRANEOUS AND DISTRACTING ISSUES WITH WHICH HE IS ONLY VAGUELY FAMILIAR. (RECENT EXAMPLES OF THIS DISTURBING CHARACTERISTIC WERE HIS PATENTLY FALSE CHARGE SEPTEMBER 22 THAT THE USG HAD TURNED DOWN THE GOP ON RADAR AND HIS ASSERTION OUT OF THE BLUE NOVEMBER 25 THAT AREMS FROM SUBIC HAD GONE TO THE NPA. HIS INEPT STEWARDSHIP OF THE EQUIPMENT LIST SEEMS ALSO ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS LACKADAISICAL OPERATIONAL STYLE).

7. ENRILE, ESPINO, VER, AND RAMOS ALL LOOK UP TO MARCOS. HE IS THE REASON THEY ARE WHERE THEY ARE. NONE QUESTIONS HIS LEADERSHIP. HOWEVER, THERE ARE SOME INEVITABLE FRICTIONS BETWEEN THESE LIEUTENANTS. VER AND RAMOS WOULD EACH LIKE TO BE CHIEF OF STAFF. ESPINO MAY TALK ABOUT RETIRING BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT HE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 310105

WANTS TO HOLD THE POWER AND PREROGATIVES OF HIS POSITION. AS INDICATED ABOVE, ENRILE ALSO WANTS TO HOLD ON. MARCOS IS THE KEY TO ALL OF THESE ASPIRATIONS. WE DO NOT SEE THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN MARCOS' LIEUTENANTS AFFECTING THE BASE DISCUSSIONS AT THIS TIME. ALL FAVOR THE RETENTION OF A SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. THIS INCLUDES ENRILE DESPITE HIS CRITICAL COMMENTS. HE IS SOMETHING OF A POKER PLAYER AND CLAIMS TO KNOW HOW TO GET THINGS FROM THE AMERICANS. THIS MAY PARTLY EXPLAIN HIS BEHAVIOR. THE KEY POINT IS THAT HE IS BRIGHT, DIFFIDENT AND UNPREDICTABLE. NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE HE, ALONG WITH ESPINO, VER, RAMOS REMAIN CLEARLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF MARCOS AND WE SEE LITTLE PROSPECT OF THIS CHANGING.

8. WE SEE TWO PRIMARY OBJECTIVES IN THE MINDS OF PHILIPPINE MILITARY PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN THE BASE ISSUES.

A. MAINTENANCE OF A SECURITY LINKAGE WITH THE UNITED STATES;

B. ACQUISITION OF MILITARY HARDWARE.

THE DEPTH OF FEELING FOR EACH OBJECTIVE VARIES BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS. ESPINO, RAMOS, AND BGEN BOCANEGRA (CHIEF OF OPERATIONS) WOULD SEEM TO VALUE A OVER B. THE SERVICE CHIEFS RADM OGBINAR, MGEN SARMIENTO AND MGEN ABAT WOULD APPEAR TO LEAN MORE TO B, PERHAPS BECAUSE THEY FOCUS MORE ON PERCEIVED EQUIPMENT DEFICIENCIES. VER'S POSITION IS NOT SPECIFICALLY KNOWN BUT CAN BE EXPECTED TO MIRROR THAT OF MARCOS. OUR CONCERN HAS BEEN DIRECTED TO THE MORE NATIONALISTIC ELEMENTS, THE "CLASS OF '51," AND OTHERS, WHO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE DND SPECIAL TASKS GROUP (COL. SOLINA) AND THE AFP SPECIAL STUDY GROUP (BGEN MANIPULA). SOME PERSPECTIVE IS NEEDED HERE. WHILE THESE MORE INNOVATIVE GROUPS HAVE SOME APPEAL THROUGH MILITARY CIRCLES OR TWEAKING OUT NOSES AND PLAY-  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 310105

ING UP PHILIPPINE PRIDE, AT THIS TIME THEIR ROOTS ARE NOT DEEP AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES NOT ORGANIZED. MANIPULA IS THE MOTOR FORCE OF THE STUDY GROUP. A COMPETENT AND DISCIPLINED MAN, MANIPULA IS NOT POPULAR WITH HIS PEERS AND HAS NO APPRECIABLE FOLLOWING. HE IS HIMSELF UNCERTAIN ABOUT HIS PROSPECTS, RECENTLY EXPRESSING DOUBT THAT HIS SERVICE WILL BE EXTENDED MUCH FURTHER (HE

BEGAN A SECOND SIX MONTH EXTENSION BEYOND RETIREMENT IN NOVEMBER). (HE RECENTLY ASKED HELP IN RENTING HIS WIFE'S HOUSE TO AN EMBASSY FAMILY SO "I WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE ENDS MEET.") IT IS ALSO NOTEWORTHY THAT THE TOP WRITER IN COL SOLINA'S TASK GROUP, LT. EMMANUEL BRIONES, A WEST POINT GRADUATE WITH AN MA FROM NORTHWESTERN, WAS TRANSFERRED OUT TWO WEEKS AGO BECUASE "SOMEONE DIDN'T LIKE ME." THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THESE GROUPS, OR SOMETHING LIKE THEM, WILL CONTINUE TO BE A FACTOR IN THE EQUATION. THE POINT TO REMEMBER ITHAT THEY ARE NOT NOW WELL KNIT AND REMAIN UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE TO PAFP STAFF. THERE IS LITTLE QUESTION THAT MARCOS CAN CONTROL THEM IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

9. COMMENT: IT REMAINS OUR VIEW THAT MARCOS WILL CAREFULLY LISTEN TO THE VIEWS OF HIS MILITARY SUB-ORDINATES AND THAT HE WILL TEND TO THEIR MOST PRESSING REQUIREMENTS. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT SEE THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT PLACING SIGNIFICANT LIMITATIONS ON HIS AUTHORITY TO MAKE FINAL DECISIONS ON TREATY ISSUES. (IF THERE IS A DANGER, IT WOULD BE THAT SOMEONE MIGHT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NORMALLY FLACCID BUREAUCRACY TO DRAG HIS HEELS IN IMPLEMENTING ONE OR ANOTHER DECISION.) SHOULD WE BE ABLE TO HELP MEET SOME OF THE MOST REALISTIC REQUIREMENTS OF THE AFP IN AIR DEFENSE AND SEA SURVEILLANCE (A MISSILE SYSTEM, RADAR, NAVAL PATROL  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 310105

CRAFT, TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT AND SOME GROUND SUPPORT EQUIPMENT) WE BELIEVE WE WOULD HAVE FLEXIBILITY IN FULFILLING MARCOS' COMPENSATION EXPECTATIONS IN OTHER WAYS, WHETHER THAT BE AN ASSURANCE OF OUR BEST EFFORT ON FUTURE MILITARY HARDWARE NEEDS OR SOME FORM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. NEWSOM UNQTE CHRISTOPHER UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL MILITARY RELATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 30-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE310105  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EA/PHL:KWBLEAKELY  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780003-0284  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t1977123/aaaaacde.tel  
**Line Count:** 262  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 933049fe-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS, STADIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS, STADIS  
**Reference:** 78 STATE 304795  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 17-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 154340  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MARCOS\ RELATIONSHIP TO THE PHILIPPINE MILITARY  
**TAGS:** PINT, MILI, SHUM, RP  
**To:** DOD JCS MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/933049fe-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009